

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 48.—No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1823. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

TO THE YEOMEN OF NORFOLK.

On the intentions of France with regard to South America, and on the probable consequences of those intentions.

Kensington, 5 November, 1823.

GENTLEMEN,

THERE is one of my prophecies fulfilled, at any rate. France has got possession of the fortresses, the arsenals, the ports, the fleets and all the resources of Spain. I said, that this was her object, and I gave it as my opinion that the Hobhouses and Wilsons and Erskines and Whitbreads, wise as they are, would not be able to prevent her from accomplishing this object. The Ministers, some of them, said, that France would fail; others *prayed* that she might. I adhered to my prophesy; and that prophesy, contrary to the opinions even of the greater part of my own readers, has been fulfilled.

I am now going to *prophesy* again. The French have got Spain into their hands; that is to say, *European Spain*; but, there is *another part of Spain*, which is of importance nearly equal to that of *European Spain*; namely, *Spanish America*. This country, or chain of countries, has long been engaged in a *revolution*. It

has been divided, by the revolvers, into separate *States*. Governments have been formed in these, and these new States have declared themselves to be (like the United States of North America) *independent* of Spain, and, indeed, to be independent nations, in which capacity some of them have been acknowledged by the Congress of the UNITED STATES.

The new States (colonies of Spain until now) abound in all the means of giving wealth and power. A fuller description of these will follow presently; but, that these possessions must be very valuable, is a thing that no one doubts. While under the power of Spain, *we were shut out of them*. They were of *no advantage to us*. But, since they have shaken off the power of Spain, we have got a great footing in them. We send to them our manufactures in great quantities; our shipping finds employment in carrying goods thither, and in bringing produce away. The new governments have *made loans of our Jews and Jobbers*, and, of course, have had the "*public spirit*" to mortgage the "*free and independent States*" to them. So that we are now pretty deeply dipped in the affairs of these new States, formerly colonies of Spain, and going, with us, under the general name of *SOUTH AMERICA*.

Now, then, will the French, who are now masters of Spain, *suffer these valuable countries to*

L

remain independent? That is the question: that is the matter about which I am going to prophesy; and I prophesy in the following words:

The French, as soon as they have settled affairs in Old Spain; as soon as they have garrisoned the fortresses, and taken proper care of the arsenals, ports and fleets, will gradually make known their intention to recolonise South America. They will first obtain the approbation of the Holy Alliance for doing this. Our Government may remonstrate, may supplicate, and our newspapers will cry out robbery and assassination; but, at last, the Pittite crew will say that "*strict neutrality*" is the "*dignified*" course, and the Whig crew will not dare pronounce the dreadful word, War. The French, if they succeed in the recolonising scheme, will keep part of South America to themselves; and, they will justify their conduct by pointing to our grabbings of Pondicherry, Isles of France and Bourbon, Ceylon, the Cape, Malta, Trinidad, Demerara, and God knows what besides. There will be, by our stupid newspapers, some big and empty talk about the United States of America standing forward to defend their "*Sister Republics of the South*;" and, it need not surprise us if the man, who, at Liverpool, could condescend to attempt to coax the Americans by the boarding-school simile about the mother and the daughter, were to attempt to get the United States to join him to oppose the French in this enterprise; but, if this attempt be made, it will only serve to cover

with shame the man that shall make it; for, so far will the United States be from endeavouring to prevent the recolonising of South America, they will do every thing in their power (short of actually going to war) to promote such recolonization. Cadiz will be the port whence the forces for this undertaking will sail. The enterprise will be called *Spanish*, though it will notoriously be French. We shall soon begin to hear of envoys from Spain to the colonies with offers of peace and amnesty. Ships and troops will be getting ready at Cadiz, in the meanwhile; and, the fair probability is, that the whole of Spanish America will be recolonised in the course of two years and a half; an event which one shall scarcely regret, when one reflects, that the "*liberty*," which the "*Patriots*" have given to the people of South America, is, to have their country and their labour mortgaged to the Jews and Jobbers of London, and to have the advantages of their commerce turned over from Old Spain to the Boroughmongers, to enable these latter to keep their estates a little longer than they could without this commerce.

That, Gentlemen, is my prophesy. To be more explicit is impossible. I have hidden my meaning under no tropes or figures. It is impossible not to understand my words; and we have to wait no very long time for the fulfilment, or the falsification.

Some people will be, or affect to be, shocked at the idea of England remaining a quiet spectator of such an event as this. What is England to do? Go to war? She has no other way of not re-

maining a quiet spectator of it. Does she discover any disposition to resist? Poor thing! She is as tame as any *capon*; and, what is provoking, she is *poor* too, whereas the capon is *fat*, which is a compensation for his tameness. Is it said, that we have *acknowledged the South American States*; that is to say, that we have sent *envoys* and *consuls* to them, and that we, therefore, consider them as *independent nations*. And, what of that? We had an envoy at the government of the *CORTES* and *constitutional King*; and he is now our envoy to the *absolute King*. Our envoy to the "*Republic of Columbia*" will easily become an envoy to the French or Spanish Viceroy; or, rather, he will easily *take himself off*.

However, I do not believe, that our Government *has acknowledged* the Republics. I believe it *wishes* to do it. I believe, that it is now *frightened*; that it knows not what to do; that it sees the game that France is going to play; that it trembles at Spain and South America being in the hands of France; that it is ashamed to hold up its head. But, what is it to do? Can it *go to war*? It knows, that it cannot: it feels, that war is *instant death* to it. Divided, then, between its wishes, its most anxious wishes, to keep the French out of South America and its fear of the effects of war; thus divided, the Government knows not what to do; it is full of alarms; and, as to these South American States, it will, most likely, neither *acknowledge* nor *not acknowledge* them; but, do some equivocal, some shuffling thing that shall serve to *make a story out of* for the use of St. Stephen's. The Ministers will *not face the French*: we may be quite *sure of that*. It is said, that the

French propose to call a *Congress* of the Holy Allies, to *discuss the affairs of South America*; and that our pretty gentlemen *decline sending to the Congress*. And, what then? The Congress will meet without them, and *decide without them*: that is all! A pretty *change* since 1815! The truth is, it is at Congresses as at taverns: those who have most money, fare best. Our pretty fellows used to carry the heavy purse: now the French carry it. Our sweet fellows have a debt, a dead weight, and a pauper debt: the French are loaded with neither; for, as to their public debt (though it ought to be wholly spunged off) it is hardly worth naming when compared to ours. Our **DEAD WEIGHT**; that is to say, the money that we have to pay annually for pensions and allowances to those who assisted in "*conquering France*;" this money, a good thumping sum of which is paid to *Hanoverians*, their *wives* and *children* (living in Hanover!); this money; this **DEAD WEIGHT**; this single item of the cost of "*conquering France*," amounts to more, *annually*, than the whole of the charge for the public debt of France.

This being the case; our sweet fellows, being in want of all the money they can get for the purposes aforesaid, have none now to carry about them, when they go to Congresses, or elsewhere. And, therefore, they will do well to *remain at home*; for, to a certainty, the Congress will do precisely what the French want them to do. We can *borrow no more*: we can give *subsidies* and make loans to foreign powers *no more*: we are at the end of our tether: and we shall now see what it was that made those powers our *friends*.

Our sweet fellows (the *sweetest* fellows in all this world!) *will remain at home*. They will send nobody to the Congress; and will content themselves with making *peace-speeches* at dinners, to which toad-eaters and place-hunters, in the Corporations, invite them. They seem to have wholly changed their nature. Formerly, it was a *word and a blow*, and the *blow first*. No matter whether for Turk or Russian, for cat-skins or for sugar-canes. Always "*full of fight*," with any body and for any thing. What a change! Every thing formerly *called for war*; and those were said to be short-sighted mortals, narrow-souled dogs, who could not see how closely connected the independence of Spain was with the independence of England! In short, the thing was so obvious, that a man must be a *traitor*, who pretended not to see, that Spain was, in fact, the great *out-work of England*. And now, after spending a hundred and fifty millions sterling (besides its share of Dead Weight) in getting this "*out-work of England*" out of the hands of the French, we, without pulling a single trigger, suffer the French to go and take complete possession of this *out-work*, and, our Minister for Foreign Affairs (formerly one of the most deadly warriors) tells us, from his dinner seat amongst the servile wretches at Plymouth, that, to have interfered for the Spaniards would have been "*Quixotic; romantic in its origin and thankless in its end*"!

Gentlemen, it is the part of the weak and pusillanimous to *bluster*, while they *decline the combat*; to brag loudly of their *courage* and their *ability*, but, at the same time, to be very explicit as to their resolution *not to fight*. This was

precisely what Mr. CANNING did, the other day, at PLYMOUTH, where he was at a Dinner with the Corporation, who presented him with the freedom of their town, being quite ready to do as much for any other man, likely to have the power to help them to places or pensions. The Secretary's *health* was drunk, and he, during a speech, long before hatched for the occasion, let out the *pacific* designs of himself and his colleagues. The passage, to which I particularly allude, is well worthy of remark; and it shows, amongst other things, how Mr. CANNING can *crouch to the French*, how he can *kiss the rod*, laid on upon him by the French papers, written, as he well knows, by the French Ministers themselves, or by their order. In the article, taken from one of those papers, and inserted in the last Register, he is *reviled* most outrageously; and, the following is the way in which he resents the reviling:

"But while we thus control even our feelings by our duty, let it not be said that we cultivate peace either because we *fear*, or because we are *unprepared for war*; on the contrary, if eight months ago the Government did not hesitate to *proclaim that the country was prepared for war*, if war should unfortunately be necessary, every month of peace that has since passed, has but made us so much the more capable of exertion. The resources created by peace, are means of war. [Applause.]—In cherishing those resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of *inability* to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof they are *devoid of strength*, and *incapable of being fitted for action*. You well know, Gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism, or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing—instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly it would put forth

all its beauty, and its bravery—collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. [Loud and continued thunders of applause.]—Such, as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself, while apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid, that that occasion should arise! After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century—sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arranged at times against her, or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, Gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation, to cultivate the arts of peace, to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension and new spheres of employment, and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island. Of the blessings of peace, Gentlemen, I trust that this borough, with which I have now the honour and happiness of being associated, will receive an ample share. I trust the time is not far distant when that noble structure of which, as I learn from your Recorder, the box with which you have honoured me, through his hands, formed a part, that gigantic barrier against the fury of the waves that roll into your harbour, will protect commercial marine not less considerable in its kind, than the warlike marine of which your port has been long so distinguished an asylum—and when the town of Plymouth will participate in the commercial prosperity as largely as it has hitherto done in the naval glories of England.”

This, be you assured, Gentlemen, was intended for the *French Ministers* much more than for the place-hunting crew, by whom the speaker was surrounded. But, let us examine, a little, this piece of *bragging cowardice*, conveyed in a sort of *sophistical fustian*. What does he mean, by the Government having, eight months ago, “*proclaimed that the country was prepared for war*”? What does the empty man mean by this? When was there any such *proclamation* issued? Oh! he only means, that the Ministers *said* this, in their *speeches in parliament*!

And, he might have added, that all sensible men (and especially the French Government) *laughed most heartily* at the said *proclamation*; and, only five days before this speech was made, the French papers laughed again at “*the speeches with which the vaults of Westminster had echoed*,” but, said this paper, “*not a soldier, not a ship, did the English Minister send.*” And yet, with all these facts before us, the speech-maker has the assurance to tell his hearers that we *were prepared for war*, and to speak of such preparation as a thing *taken for granted*!

“*If*,” said he, “the Government *proclaimed* that the country was prepared for war then, every month since must have made us so much the more capable of exertion.” Perhaps so; but, this is not a matter of course; for, the eight months *may* have been eight months of calamity; and, indeed, they *have been*; for, never was there so much ruin of families in any eight months since England was England. But, this aside, does it follow, that, because the Government *proclaimed*, that we were prepared for war, that we *were* so prepared? What an impudent spouter! What a stupid audience! “The resources created by peace are the means of war.” Very true; but, have you any now creating? Is the lowering of the interest of money, and is the Bank taking estates to mortgage; are these proofs of your being at work creating resources? A revolution in property is going on, owing to the burdens of peace. You have an army more costly than that of France, though she employs a part of hers to occupy Spain. You have a fleet more costly than the fleets of

all Europe, and that of America into the bargain. And yet, you have the folly to talk about "*cherishing the resources of peace*," and thereby *accumulating the means of war*." You borrow even now, though under a disguise. How, then, are you to *accumulate*? How are you to cherish resources to enable you to go to war?

As to the *figure of the ship*, what aptness is there in it? The ship is put into motion whenever those who have the means of doing it choose to employ those means. The *inactivity* of the ship is, generally speaking, no proof at all, that it is *devoid of strength*, or *incapable of being fitted for action*; for you, Gentlemen, as well as the Recorder of Plymouth, know very well, how soon a ship, now lying unrigged, may be put into motion. But, this is true only sometimes. It is not always true. The inactivity is, sometimes, "*a proof of the ship being devoid of strength*." While you see no occasion to use or man the ship; while you see her in no danger, and see nothing that she is wanted to do; then, indeed, her inactivity is no proof of her being devoid of strength or that she is incapable of being fitted for action: but, if danger approach her; if a fire-ship be making towards her; if a battery be opening, manifestly intended to play upon her; if an enemy's ships are in the offing, capturing the merchantmen: if any of these circumstances exist, and if the ship remain inactive, is not her "*inactivity*" then "*a proof*" of one of two things: namely, that the ship is devoid of strength, and is unfit for use; or, that those who have the charge of her are guilty of gross neglect, or are despicable cowards?

The *flourishing figure* is, then, not worth a straw, except for the purpose of puzzling fools, and, amongst fools, to keep cowards in countenance. Upon the face of the thing, the ship being in a state of *immobility* and the nation being at peace are no proofs of the *usefulness* of the one and of the *inability* of the other; but, under the circumstances above supposed, the immobility of the ship, is, as we have seen, a proof of her uselessness or of the neglect or cowardice of her commanders; and, under circumstances such as those which have existed for eight months past, the nation being at peace is a proof of her *inability to go to war*, or, of the neglect, or cowardice, or something worse, of the Ministers.

The nation is quite able, we are told, to go to war, "on an *adequate occasion*." Well, now, what will be "*an adequate occasion*?" She is "*silently concentrating her power*!" Empty stuff! How? Where does her power come from? Is she getting money together, when she is actually borrowing still, and when her farmers are, in every quarter, tumbling into ruin? Her gaols are full of insolvents. Such a wreck of fortunes was never before heard of in any country in the world. However, she is concentrating her power; and, "*when the occasion arises*" she is to make use of it. "But," says the hero, "GOD FORBID THAT OCCASION SHOULD ARISE." Indeed! See, Gentlemen, how AFRAID he was! He seems to have been frightened, and to have started, at the sound of his own voice. I would not have been in such a devil of a fright for a trifle. Perhaps that wise friend of his, LORD MORLEY, whispered him, that Monsieur

Chateaubriand might overhear him. Quite ready for war, if an adequate occasion should arise; but, "*God forbid that occasion should arise!*" Bravo!

Let us, however, hear the reasons for this "*God forbid.*" They are these: "That we have recently been at war for nearly a quarter of a century."—So has France.—That we, sometimes, "were at war single-handed against all Europe."—So was France.—That, at other times, "*all Europe was on our side.*"—So it was with France.—Well, spouter, come; get on. What, then, you can get no further; and upon these reasons, all which will do for France as well as for you, you conclude, that "*England needs a period of tranquillity.*" Why, then, does not France need the same? Answer me that, man. Lay aside your rhetorical flourishes; cast off, for a little, the *Captain of Eton*; and tell me in plain English, why France does not need a period of tranquillity as well as England. Tell me that. I will tell you: because France has no *Boroughmongers*; because France has no *Tithes*; because France has no *Dead-weight Debt* and *Pauper Debt*; and because France has no *Jew and Jobber Debt* worth speaking of, when compared with ours.

This flashy gentleman talks of the nation "*needing a period of tranquillity,*" which he, in another place, calls "*repose.*" What, does he really imagine, then, that, a nation, like a man, wants *rest* and *sleep*? The French nation wants, it seems, neither. But, this is downright *nonsense*: it is really unmeaning trash; or, it means, that the country wants *time*, in order to *save money to pay for more war.* That is the meaning,

if the words have any meaning at all. And, then, how stands the fact? Why, that the nation is *sinking under its present weight of taxes*, and must have some relief from them. How, then, are we to *save money* to hire more fighters, whether German or others? And, besides (I must repeat it) how comes it that our *rival*, our *antagonist*, our great and constant and natural *foe*; how is it, that he wants no *repose*, no period of *tranquillity*, no *rest*, no *sleep*, no time to *save money* in?

The remainder of this speech is almost a cry. "*LONG may we be enabled to improve the blessings of peace:—the blessings of our present situation:*"—and at last comes what one would imagine could not have come from sober lips: namely, a hope, that this *Dock-yard town*, will "*receive an ample share of the blessings of peace*"! And, to cap the whole, that the "*gigantic barrier*" (the *break-water* that has cost the nation millions) "*will protect a commercial marine.*" This conclusion would seem to imply, that the *other marine* will not be wanted any more! In short, any thing more miserable, more cowardly, more crawling to the French, than this speech, it is impossible to imagine. The man really seems to have been half petrified with fear while he was speaking. He put out some big bragging stuff by way of clap-trap; but, the moment it was out, he appears to have been seized with a dread of the consequences; and, then he began to eat his words as fast as he could.

But, this is perfectly natural. The Ministers know that they cannot go to war without a *blowing up of the Debt.* They see, that the bare rumour of their

sending a ship or two out to carry troops to keep down the black slaves, causes their Debt to fall in value. They know, or, at least, they can hardly be such fools as not to know, that war with France would bring what they call "*Consols*" down to 10 or 20, in a few days. They would be glad to get rid of the stuff, I dare say; but, then, *they themselves would be got rid of by the same blow*. How mad must that man be, who imagines, that this system of sway could be upheld while the Debt was blown up; and how much madder than mere mad must he be, who can suppose, that war could be even begun without blowing up the Debt! The very first step would be an attempt to go back to a forced paper-money; that would immediately cause two prices; and those two prices would blow the whole up.

Therefore, the Ministers *cannot go to war, and will not attempt it*. I repeat, that the DEBT says to the King of England, "*Thou shalt not go to war, while I am in existence*." This poor driveller, at Plymouth; this "*heir to the inkstand*," as the French royalist newspapers call him, has, under his own hand, sent *envoys* and *consuls* out to South America. What could induce him to do that, unless he were really to acknowledge the States to be *independent*? "*Madman*," as the French paper calls him, he never could think of sending envoys and consuls to the COLONIES of another nation! Oh, no! He wished to be *beforehand with the French*; but, what will the world say, if he should be compelled to call home his envoys, and to refuse to acknowledge, or, to *unsay* his acknowledging of the States in question? This is what will take

place, if the envoys be authorized to acknowledge; or, which is most likely, these agents will *slide home again*, nobody will know *when or how*, and we shall hear our gallant break-water gentleman, bragging away again, that England is only *reposing*, and that, like the "*mighty masses*," she is ready to "*shake her feathers*" (I believe that was it); no, "*ruffle her swelling plumage*," and put forth, "*if the occasion should arise*, all her beauty and her bravery; but **GOD FORBID** that occasion should arise." He will brag just as much as ever; and the French will go on as fast as ever; and stop they never will, till they have made this a *very little nation*.

This is the opportunity for France; and, indeed, for the whole of the family of Bourbon. England was a good deal pulled down in the year 1780; but her Debt was then trifling, and the internal state of France was lamentable. This brought on the *French Revolution*, which was produced by the Debts of France, and by a vain attempt to pay those Debts in full. Our Government made use of the confusion in France to strip that kingdom of a great deal of territory in colonies; and we know well what it did in 1815. It is impossible that France should not wish to get back what she lost. And, *now is her time!* This she knows full as well as I do. I can clearly see by the language of the French, and, indeed, by their *measures*, that *they have begun upon us*, and that they will keep on until they have done their work. We shall see them proceed, step by step; *not in haste*, but steadily; and even the affair of South America, though a very grand affair, will

be but a prelude to strokes that will touch us more closely.

However, the affair of South America is a touchstone. It will try our Government. We shall hear what the two wrangling political factions will say. They cannot, at any rate, say, that the Radicals brought them into the difficulty. The thing is their own, and of their own seeking. They have brought it upon themselves by their hostility to Reform, and by that alone. At every stage of their progress, the question with them has been: "What shall we do now to keep down the Reformers?" This was the question they asked themselves, when, in 1817, the subject of South America first came before them. They did, not what the interest of the country demanded; but what the interests of the enemies of Reform demanded. Not only would the Government not acknowledge the South American States, at that time, when it might have been done with such safety, and with such great and manifest advantage, but, it passed a law to punish the king's subjects for going into the service of those States at their own risk! In short, it declared against the independence of those very States, which it is now so anxious to acknowledge, but which it dares not acknowledge for fear of those very French whom it said it had just then "conquered," and of whose country it then (in 1817) held military occupation!

If the English Government had acknowledged the independence of these States in 1817, instead of passing a "Foreign Enlistment Bill" to prevent Englishmen to assist those States in securing their independence, how different the state of things would now have been from what it is! But, before I go into remarks of this sort, let

me show you, that, if our pretty fellows at Whitehall did wrong in 1817, they did it with their eyes open. I was then in Long Island; but, I did not fail to point out to them what they ought to do. This was done in the form of a petition to the Prince Regent; and this petition I will here insert, first, because it contains so much useful matter, connected with the subject before us; and, next, because it may serve to show Daddies Coke and Suffield and the Hickory Quaker, that, if you did agree to a petition of mine without knowing its contents, you were justified in so doing; for, it is, I think, impossible to read the following petition, and to look, at the same time, at our present situation, without being convinced, that I possess more knowledge relative to the interests of the country than the pretty gentlemen and the two sets of lawgivers all put together.

I have, Gentlemen, addressed myself to you upon this occasion, because the stupid hacks of the London press have affected to ridicule you for having approved of a paper which you had not heard read. You were, in fact censured for relying on my judgment. Hold, then, the following petition up to the revilers; and ask them, whether it would not have been happy for the nation, if my judgment had been relied on by the Government in 1817. This Petition came forth in one of those papers, which Corruption called "Two-penny Trash." Look at it well, Gentlemen; at the knowledge it conveys, at the distribution of the matter, at its reasoning, at its style and manner. Compare it, Gentlemen, with any public paper, written by Mr. CANNING, or by any one who is, or has been, in office. And, when you have done these, tell Daddies Coke and Suff-

field, and the Hickory Quaker, that, when either of them shall have written a *paper like this*, you will approve of a petition of *his* drawing up without hearing such petition read.

TO
*His Royal Highness the PRINCE,
Regent of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Ireland.*

The Petition of WILLIAM COB-
BETT of Botley in the County
of Southampton, now resid-
ing at North Hampstead, in
the State of New York, this
17th day of October 1817,

Most humbly Sheweth,

1. THAT, next after the present situation of England herself, the object the most interesting to every well-informed and patriotic Englishman must, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, be the present situation of the Spanish Colonies in America, in whose immense and fertile regions there are preparing, and, indeed, there are now in progress, such changes as will, in all human probability, produce a new distribution of wealth and of power amongst the most considerable of the nations of the world; and, as will, at the very least, materially affect many of those nations, not only in a Commercial, but also in a Naval and Military point of view. Of all those nations no one is, as it appears to your humble Petitioner, nearly so deeply interested as England in this grand Revolution, which, if your Royal Highness's Councillors be wise, prompt, and faithful to their King and his People, may greatly tend to restore her to prosperity, may secure to her an undisputed maritime predominance for ages not to be numbered, and may, at the same time, and from the use of the very same means, crown her

with the unfading glory of having given freedom to twenty millions of people, who now groan out their lives under the double-thonged scourge of Civil and Religious tyranny.

2. Such being the opinion of your Petitioner, it is impossible for him to refrain from soliciting most humbly, though most earnestly, the attention of your Royal Highness to this important matter. And, he begs leave here to be permitted to represent to your Royal Highness, that, while taking this step, he forgets not the injuries at this time unjustly inflicted on his fellow subjects in general, and on himself in particular; but, that, bearing these in mind, as he trusts he shall, to the last moment of his life, he also bears in mind those sacred obligations of law and of nature, which bind him to the land of his birth, and which bid him upon this occasion, as upon all other occasions, to make every exertion, within the compass of his humble means, to promote the welfare and advance the honour of England.

3. To the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in existence and agitating the breasts of the whole of the population of a country, which reaches from the 18th degree of North Latitude to the 50th degree of South Latitude; a country which thus extends four thousand miles in length, which, in breadth, at some points, extends three thousand miles, and which is unbroken except by the comparatively trifling possessions of the Portuguese and the Dutch; a country which borders, at one extremity, on the part of the United States, at once the most fertile and the most important as to all probable future military and naval operations; a

country, which has numerous ports on the side of the Pacific, as well as on that of the Atlantic, ocean; a country, which, to all the articles of European produce adds many articles that are refused by nature even to the most favoured part of the United States; a country, which, while it is cheered by a continual summer on the surface of the earth, has mines beneath inexhaustible in silver and in gold; a country which abounds in, or is capable of producing, almost all the commodities, greatly useful, as imports, to England, and which, at the same time, offers to England the surest, the most extensive, and the best of all possible markets; a country, which, if independent, nature would forbid to become, in any respect, the rival of England, and which from necessity must seek her friendship, and rely, in a great measure, on her power: to the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in actual existence in such a country; to the mind of every one who feels for the interest and honour of England, this bare fact, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, must suggest the strongest desire to know the true state of that Revolution and to see clearly developed the probable consequences of its ultimate success.

4. Deep is the sorrow of your Petitioner when he reflects on his incapacity to perform this task in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance of the subject; but, urged thereunto by a sense of imperious duty towards your Royal Highness and his Country, no conviction, however perfect, of his inability can be sufficient to restrain him from making the attempt.

5. Minutely to describe the state

of the Revolution in Spanish America; to lay before your Royal Highness in detail the number of men in arms in the several Provinces and Viceroyalties; to state the precise situation of the hostile armies and armaments; to say what are the exact means, which, in the several warlike scenes, the parties possess, or may speedily expect: these would demand a mass of information not only greater than is possessed by your Petitioner, but greater than can, at this time, possibly be possessed by any one man. But, the information which your Petitioner has acquired, not from mere rumour or from published accounts, but from a personal communication with men of high character, coming directly from the spot, enables him confidently to state to your Royal Highness, that, in the Viceroyalty of Mexico, which is the most Northern part of the Spanish Dominions on the Main, and which borders on the United States, the people are wholly disaffected to the government; that they have a Junta, or Assembly of Representatives, in the Province of Validolid; that they have leaders of great enterprise and talent, and that arms only are wanted to decide, at once, the struggle in their favour; that the Viceroy, indeed, raises troops, but that even these are disaffected towards him; that, on the Atlantic side, the only considerable seaport of this Viceroyalty, La Vera Cruz, is, as yet, in the hands of the Spanish government, but that, to drive the present possessors from that port, and to afford every necessary assistance to the oppressed people, one single English frigate, with twenty thousand stand of arms, sent to the Gulf of Mexico, would be sufficient; that

this Viceroyalty, which proposes to form itself into a distinct independent state, has a population of from seven to eight millions, nearly equalling the population of the United States of America, on which it borders on one side, and with regard to the resources and power of which United States, the establishment of the independence of Mexico, must, as your Petitioner will hereafter humbly endeavour to show, have a most important effect.

6. That, with regard to the Second Grand Division of these immense regions, which division includes New Grenada and Venezuela, and which extends from the isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Oronoca (along more than seven hundred miles of sea coast the most important in every point of view), containing a population of from three to four millions, a declaration of independence, and a new form of government have, long since, been proclaimed; that a war, extensive and sanguinary, has, for years, been going on; that the Patriots have commanders regularly appointed and commissioned; that they have a Representative Assembly, officers of state, a national flag, and, in short, that they exercise the powers of sovereignty over a large portion of this extensive, fertile, rich and important territory. Here, as in the case of Mexico, arms only and a trifling maritime force are wanted to put an end to the contest, and, as your Petitioner humbly hopes that he shall be able to show, to open to England the fairest prospect of immense advantages.

7. That, in Peru, which forms the Third Division, and which is bounded to the North by the last-mentioned Territory, to the East

by the Portuguese Possessions, to the South by the Territory of Chili, and to the West by the Pacific Ocean, and which has a population of from two to three millions, the spirit of independence is as active as in the afore-mentioned territories, and that here also a mere trifle in the way of maritime force and of arms would decide the contest, even, perhaps, without further struggle.

8. That, in the Southern Division, including the Territories of Buenos Ayres and of Chili, and containing a population of from three to four millions, the contest is nearly at an end. The Patriots have established a new Government, and, with the exception of a trifling portion of territory on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, on which Spain is endeavouring to keep up the struggle, the whole of this Division is under the actual control of the Patriot Government.

9. But, though your Petitioner places, in relation to the state of the Revolution, great reliance on the particular information which he has, from most respectable and authentic sources received, he places much greater reliance upon the natural and inevitable tendency of the existence, throughout the afore-mentioned countries, of a general spirit of revolt against oppression and insult exercised by imbecility, and which spirit of revolt, together with which oppression, insult and imbecility are notorious to all the world. The history of nations, as your Petitioner humbly ventures to believe, furnishes no instance of the re-subjugation of a people, once in arms for their rights and perfectly enlightened as to the nature of those rights, unless such people were overwhelmed by an irresistible

combination of foreign Powers, a circumstance that cannot happen to the Spanish Independents, unless through the consent, or the connivance, of England, acting, as in such case she must, not only in violation of the dictates of justice and humanity, but, as your Petitioner humbly hopes he shall be able to show, in direct opposition to her own most important and most permanent interests.

10. In order to obtain an insight as to the probable consequences of the ultimate success of the Revolution of Spanish America, especially as those consequences will affect, permanently as well as for the present, the prosperity and power of England, and that he might be able the better to discharge his duty to your Royal Highness and his country, your Petitioner has carefully attended to the nature of the products throughout the territories which are the subject of his petition. And, as to this matter, he begs leave humbly to beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind that Mexico produces all those articles of commerce, which are produced in the United States, such as cotton, tobacco, ship-timber, and many others, and, besides these, cochineal, indigo, dye-woods, and mahogany, while it abounds in those mines of silver and of gold, of which the United States have none. The city of Mexico, situated nearly about the centre of this Viceroyalty, and which city contains a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, is blessed with a climate that knows no winter; a never-fading verdure clothes the fields; two crops of any kind of European grain are, with facility, made, in the same year, to succeed each other on the same plot of ground,

and even two crops of maize, or Indian corn, while one crop of this latter grain is the utmost that can, even with difficulty, be raised in the Northern part of the United States. In the Division of New Grenada and Venezuela, which approaches more towards the South, all the products of Mexico abound. Here, as to the Mines, silver and gold receive the addition of platina metal. Tobacco is here produced long acknowledged to be the finest in the world. The vine and the olive have been forbidden by Despotism to produce wine and oil in this their favourite climate, lest these countries should, in this respect, injure Old Spain. At Chili, where the people have been permitted to make wine for their own use only, a proof has been afforded of the eminence to which almost every part of these territories would, if free and independent, speedily arrive, to the great injury, no doubt, of France and Spain and some other of the nations of Europe, but to the incalculable benefit of England. In the Division of Buenos Ayres and Chili; in that of Peru; in every part of these territories, are produced all that the United States produce, with a small portion of the labour required in the latter. Hides and Tallow, from droves roaming at pleasure, unfed and unsheltered, are even now an object of considerable traffic, and, under independent governments, would naturally become such to an immense extent. Lumber and all the articles in wood, together with flour, rice, and all the articles of food, occasionally necessary to England or to her West India Colonies, and which articles are now chiefly supplied by the United States, would, at a much cheaper rate, all be supplied from Mexico

and the other countries bordering on the West India Seas, while the resources arising therefrom to these new nations could not possibly, at any period of time, be employed, like the resources of the United States, in the formation of a marine threatening to rival, sooner or later, the Navy of England.

11. But, amongst the articles, in which Mexico, and more especially New Grenada and Venezuela would supplant the United States, there is one, which your Petitioner humbly presumes to point out as worthy of the particular notice of your Royal Highness. The articles of rice, flour and tobacco are, each of them, of great importance, but that of *cotton* far surpasses any description within the humble powers of your Petitioner to give. The annual amount of this article of raw material, imported into England from the United States, great as that amount is, bears no proportion in point of consequence to the circumstances of its being the material of one of the greatest English manufactures, giving employment to a multitude of hands, causing an immense capital to be productively employed, and the interruption of a sufficient supply of which raw material must of necessity be attended with injuries too obvious to be detailed and too great not to be, if possible, provided against. In the territories which are the subject of this Petition, and especially in those which border on the Gulf of Mexico and on the West India Sea, cotton is not only naturally of a quality greatly superior to that of the United States, but it is produced at a small portion of the expense demanded by the cultivation of that of the last-mentioned country. So that, if

the territories of Spanish America were freed from the monopoly, the restrictions, and all the selfish and oppressive shackles imposed by Spain; if industry and enterprise were left to take their natural course, those countries would furnish the English manufactures with the most essential article of raw material at a price greatly reduced, and the close friendship which must necessarily exist between England and those territories would prevent the supply from being interrupted by any of the clashing of interest or any of the casualties of war.

12. If your Royal Highness's Ministers, too busily engaged in the promoting of Holy Alliances abroad and in sacrificing the freedom of the people to the interest of an usurping Borough faction at home, have overlooked these obvious commercial consequences of the success of the Revolution in Spanish America, and have also overlooked those still more important consequences of a military and naval character, of which your Petitioner will by-and-by beg to be permitted to speak, the Rulers of the United States, have, as he will now humbly proceed to show, overlooked neither the one nor the other, but seem to have had all those consequences clearly in their view, and to have done all that lay in their power to prevent them accordingly.

13. Your Petitioner will not so far presume the existence of perfidy in your Royal Highness's Envoys, or Ministers, as to suppose your Royal Highness not to have been informed, that the Envoys from the Patriot Governments have been refused to be received, in that capacity, by the Government of the United States; but he does presume, that perfidy, or,

at least, criminal negligence, must have existed somewhere, because, otherwise, an Act, which was passed by the Congress on the third day of March last, would, with all possible speed, have been laid before your Royal Highness, and in which case your Petitioner is sure that the said Act would have been, by your Royal Highness's order, communicated to the two Houses of Parliament. This being the firm conviction of your Petitioner, he deems it his duty to recite here the words of this Act, and to subjoin to the recital such matter as appears to him necessary to exhibit a clear view of all the bearings and intentions of this singular and most important document.

"An Act more effectually to pre-
"serve the neutral relations of
"the United States.

"Section 1. Be it enacted by
"the Senate and House of Re-
"presentatives of the United
"States of America, in Congress
"assembled, That if any person
"shall, within the limits of the
"United States, fit out and arm,
"or attempt to fit out and arm,
"or procure to be fitted out and
"armed, or shall knowingly be
"concerned in the furnishing,
"fitting out or arming of any
"ship or vessel, with intent that
"such ship shall be employed in
"the service of any foreign prince
"or state, or of any colony, dis-
"trict, or people, to cruise or com-
"mit hostilities, or to aid or co-
"operate in any warlike measure
"whatever against the subjects,
"citizens, or property of any
"prince or state, or of any co-
"lony, district, or people, with
"whom the United States are at
"peace, every such person so
"offending shall, upon conviction,
"be adjudged guilty of a high

"misdemeanor, and shall be pu-
"nished and imprisoned at the
"discretion of the court in which
"the conviction shall be had, so
"as the fine to be imposed shall
"in no case be more than ten
"thousand dollars, and the term
"of imprisonment shall not ex-
"ceed ten years; and every such
"ship or vessel, with her tackle,
"apparel and furniture, together
"with all materials, arms, ammu-
"nition and stores, which may
"have been procured for the
"building and equipment thereof,
"shall be forfeited, one half to
"the use of any person who shall
"give information, and the other
"half to the use of the United
"States.

"Section 2. And be it further
"enacted, That the owners of all
"armed ships, sailing out of the
"ports of the United States, and
"owned wholly or in part by
"citizens thereof, shall enter into
"bond to the United States, with
"sufficient sureties, prior to clear-
"ing out the same, in double the
"amount of the value of the ves-
"sel and cargo on board, includ-
"ing her armament, that the said
"ship or vessel shall not be em-
"ployed by such owners, in cruis-
"ing or committing hostilities, or
"in aiding or co-operating in any
"warlike measure against the
"subjects, citizens, or property
"of any prince or state, or of any
"colony, district, or people, with
"whom the United States are at
"peace.

"Section 3. And be it further
"enacted, That the collectors of
"the customs be, and they are
"hereby respectively authorized
"and required to detain any ves-
"sel manifestly built for warlike
"purposes, and about to depart
"from the United States, of which
"the cargo shall principally con-

“ *sist of arms and munitions of*
 “ *war*, when the number of men
 “ shipped on board, or *other cir-*
 “ *cumstances*, shall render it *pro-*
 “ *bable* that such vessel is intended
 “ to be employed by the owner or
 “ owners to cruise or commit hos-
 “ tilities upon the subjects, citi-
 “ zens, or property of any prince
 “ or state, or of any colony, dis-
 “ trict, or people, with whom the
 “ United States are at peace,
 “ until the decision of the Pre-
 “ sident be had thereupon, or
 “ until the owner enters into bond,
 “ and sureties to the United States
 “ prior to clearing out the same,
 “ in double the amount of the
 “ value of the *vessel and cargo on*
 “ *board*, including her armament,
 “ that the said ship or vessel shall
 “ not be employed by the owner
 “ or owners, in cruising or com-
 “ mitting hostilities, or in aiding
 “ or co-operating in any warlike
 “ measure against the subjects,
 “ citizens, or property of any
 “ prince or state, or of any co-
 “ lony, district, or people, with
 “ whom the United States are at
 “ peace.

“ Section 4. And be it further
 “ enacted, That if any person
 “ shall, within the territory or ju-
 “ risdiction of the United States,
 “ *increase or augment*, or procure
 “ to be increased or augmented,
 “ or shall be *knowingly concerned*
 “ in increasing or augmenting the
 “ force of any ship of war, cruiser,
 “ or other armed vessel, which at
 “ the time of her arrival within the
 “ United States, was a ship of war,
 “ cruiser, or other armed vessel, in
 “ the service of a foreign prince, or
 “ state, or of any *colony, district,*
 “ *or people*, or belonging to the
 “ subjects, or citizens of any such
 “ prince, state, colony, district, or
 “ people, the same being *at war*
 “ with any *foreign prince or state,*

“ with whom the United States
 “ are at peace, by adding to the
 “ number or size of the guns of
 “ such vessels prepared for use,
 “ or by the addition thereto of any
 “ equipment, solely applicable to
 “ war, every such person so offend-
 “ ing shall, upon conviction, be
 “ adjudged guilty of a misde-
 “ meanor, and shall be fined and
 “ imprisoned, at the discretion of
 “ the court in which the conviction
 “ shall be had, so as that such
 “ fines shall not exceed one thou-
 “ sand dollars, nor the term of
 “ imprisonment be more than one
 “ year.

“ Section 5. And be it further
 “ enacted, That this Act shall
 “ continue in force for the term of
 “ two years. “ H. CLAY,

“ Speaker of the House of
 “ Representatives.

“ JOHN GAILLARD,
 “ President of the Senate,
 “ pro tempore.

“ Approved,

“ JAMES MADISON.”

“ May 3, 1817.”

14. With regard to the *Title*
 of this Act, your Petitioner begs
 leave humbly to represent to your
 Royal Highness, that it is a perfect
 novelty, in the history of nations,
 for any Government to pass laws
 to punish its citizens or subjects
 for violating the public laws of
 neutrality; that the law of nations
 provides the punishment which,
 upon this score, nations have
 deemed to be amply sufficient;
 that, in virtue of this law, every
 citizen, or subject, of a neutral
 State is, if he trade to a bellige-
 rent State in articles contraband
 of war and such as are enume-
 rated in this Act, liable to have
 those articles seized and con-
 demned by the belligerent with
 whose enemy he so trades; that
 this general law of nations has

rendered any interference in such cases, on the part of neutral governments, wholly unnecessary; that if individual citizens or subjects, belonging to a neutral State, supply one of the belligerent Powers with arms, or other munitions of war, the other belligerent has no ground of complaint against the neutral State, seeing that such offended belligerent has, by the law of nations, the right, lodged in its own hands, of punishing such individuals. That, the matter has been, thus, wisely settled by the law of nations; for, if neutral States were to acknowledge, as a duty, the passing of laws to punish their citizens or subjects for violations of the laws of neutrality, neutral States would, by such acknowledgment, give to any and to every belligerent a right to demand of them the passing of such laws, and, thus, would one nation have a right to dictate to another nation not only punishments, but the measure of punishments, to be inflicted on that other nation's citizens or subjects, and this, as your Royal Highness need not be reminded, is a species of degradation, to which no really independent nation has ever submitted.

15. It appears, therefore, evident to your Petitioner, and he ventures humbly to express his conviction, that it will appear evident to your Royal Highness and to the whole English People (for whose benefit, as your Royal Highness has publicly and truly declared, your Royal Father wears his crown), that the above-recited Act of the American Congress was not called for by any neutral duty known to the law of nations, and that it could not, in any wise, possibly be necessary to the preservation of the neutral relations of the United States. Besides, it will at

once occur to your Royal Highness and to the People of the whole Kingdom to ask, how it happens, that, in order to preserve its neutral relations, an anxiety, on the part of the American Government, so extreme as to produce this signal work of supererogation, has now, for the first time, made its appearance to the world? The Government of the United States has had to preserve its neutrality during many years of war amongst the European States, and, which is exactly in point, during a long and sanguinary struggle between France and her important colony of St. Domingo; and yet, as your Petitioner begs leave to state, the Congress has never before passed an Act to punish its citizens for trading in articles contraband of war; and, of course, it has now, for the first time, discovered, that such Acts are necessary to the preservation of its neutral relations, which discovery appears, too, to be the more extraordinary, as its effects manifestly tend to prevent a people, groaning under the worst of Despotisms, from obtaining any share of that freedom and that happiness, to have obtained which by an open war against the Mother Country is the boast of the People of these United States.

16. Moreover, with regard to the *principle* of this law of the American Congress, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to observe to your Royal Highness, that, it not only imposes a new, and hitherto unheard-of, duty, and a most weighty responsibility, on the Governments which shall adopt it as a precedent; but that cases may frequently arise, in which, to act upon this principle, would be, in substance, though

M

not in form, to take a part in the war; and, of course, to commit hostility on one or the other of the belligerents; for, if one of the belligerent nations have, within herself, or, at her command, an ample supply of arms and of all the munitions of war, and if the other must necessarily depend upon neutrals for such supply, your Petitioner humbly conceives that there can be no doubt in the mind of your Royal Highness, that a neutral nation, who should pass an Act, commanding her people to carry arms, or munitions of war, to neither of the belligerents, would, under the outward show of impartiality, be, in fact, guilty of obvious partiality in favour of the well-armed and well-provided belligerent, would, in reality, join that belligerent in hostility against the un-armed and un-provided belligerent, and would thus afford full justification to the latter to consider, and act towards, such neutral nation as an enemy. So that the principle, upon which this law of the American Congress professes to proceed, instead of tending to preserve the neutral relations of States, must, as appears to your Petitioner, naturally tend to make such States, sooner or later, parties in every contest between other nations, and, instead of repressing and confining, must tend to render boundless the extent, the duration and the miseries of war.

17. Feeling, as your Petitioner does, profound respect for the American Congress, as the real representatives of a people truly free, as legislators whose seats are not obtained by the base means of bribery and corruption, as men whose votes are not the price of wealth wrung from the hard hands of a toiling and starving nation;

and feeling, too, great gratitude towards the whole American people for that protection which the effects of their wisdom, virtue and valour now afford him against the power of the Borough-faction, who so daringly oppress and insult his native country: with these feelings in his breast, it is with unaffected grief, that your Petitioner, in proceeding most humbly to solicit the attention of your Royal Highness to the provisions of this Act of the Congress, finds himself compelled to express his confident belief, that your Royal Highness will, in the three first Sections of the Act, clearly perceive all that impartiality in words and all that partiality in tendency and in object, so manifest in the above-supposed case; and of which supposed case of pretended neutrality and of real hostility, this Act of Congress is, it appears to your Petitioner, nothing short of a full, practical illustration. But while, in the three first Sections, the Act assumes, and closely wears, the garb of impartiality, in the fourth Section, which is the most material, this garb becomes loosened, and renders visible the real character of the Act. For, while this Section forbids the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if such prince, state, colony, district, or people be *at war* with any foreign *prince or state*, with whom the United States are *at peace*; while this Section forbids this, it does *not* forbid the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if neither of these be *at war* with a *prince or state*; so that, as Old Spain is not *at war* with a *prince or state*, but with *colonies, districts,*

or *people*, the vessels belonging to Old Spain may enter, receive augmentation of force, and sail out again to make war upon the *colonies*, which colonies are neither *princes* nor *states*; but the colonies of Spanish America, being at war with a *prince* or *state*, can enjoy none of those advantages which are here exclusively given to their inexorable oppressor.

18. That a Government, founded on the principles of the natural and unalienable rights of man, and arising out of a revolt of colonists against the mother country, because that mother country, by her conduct, gave them good reason to apprehend oppression at some future day; that a Government, chosen by a people, who annually listen to orations from the pulpit, in praise of Revolution, who, by all kinds of demonstrations of joy, celebrate their successful revolt, and who hold in the highest reverence the persons and memory of all the men, who distinguished themselves in the securing of that success; that a Government which boasts, and justly boasts, of exhibiting to the world a practical proof, that the greatest degree of political, civil and religious liberty is perfectly consistent with the greatest degree of public order, tranquillity, and obedience to the laws, and also with the greatest degree of national security in time of war; that a Government, which holds, in the broadest sense, the right of men to cast off, or transfer, their allegiance; which tenders the right of citizenship, and promises protection as citizens, to all men of all nations upon the sole condition of a five years' residence and an oath abjuring all allegiance to their native sovereigns and country; that a Government

thus implanted, thus growing up, thus extending its sheltering branches and dropping its nourishing fruits; that such a Government, should have voluntarily passed an Act, punishing with severity, surpassing, in fact, the penalty of immediate death, such of its own citizens as may aid or abet the colonists of Spain, compared to whose real and actual oppression all that the people of the United States could possibly have apprehended from England was as the finger of the dwarf weighed against the loins of the giant; that such a Government should have passed such an Act, must, if men suppress their indignation, necessarily excite throughout the world the utmost degree of sorrow and surprise.

19. But, if your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to advert to what your Petitioner has humbly stated in the foregoing part of this his Petition, relative to the superiority in point of products, and relative to all the numerous commercial advantages, which would enable the Spanish colonies, if become free and independent governments, speedily to rival, to surpass and supplant the United States, and more especially if your Royal Highness shall, in your great condescension, be pleased to suffer your Petitioner humbly to draw your attention to the prodigious effect which the liberation of the Spanish Colonies must necessarily have on the United States in a naval and military point of view, your Petitioner is fully persuaded, that all ground for surprise at the passing of the above recited Act of Congress will wholly disappear; and that, though it may be difficult, upon moral principles, to find a

justification for that extraordinary measure, the Congress will clearly appear to have displayed, upon this occasion, a degree of political foresight and wisdom equal to that of its legislative energy, it being impossible not to perceive, that the real object of this measure is, to prevent the independence of Spanish America from giving a great check to the increase of the population, pecuniary resources, commerce, naval power and territorial dominion of the United States.

20. While this enlightened body of legislators so clearly saw, that the independence of Spanish America generally would naturally and necessarily divert the current of European emigration from the United States to the more genial climes of the South, whither the taste for novelty, the love of ease, and the desire of gain, are all pressing invited, and where they are all promised indulgence in the most ample degree; while the Congress clearly saw, that the independence of those countries could not fail to take from the United States the chief part of their export of tobacco, rice, flour and cotton, these staples of their commerce, the Congress also saw, that a proportionate diminution would, from the same cause, arise in the amount of imported articles, which are the objects of exchange for the products exported, and the Custom Duties on which imported articles form the main part of the pecuniary means of the United States wherewith to maintain and increase their Navy and to defray the interest of their Public Debt; while the Congress must have seen clearly, and with great anxiety, these inevitable consequences of the independence of Spanish America generally, that

body could not have seen but with real alarm the prospect of the establishment of a free and independent Government in Mexico, a country bordering on the United States for many hundreds of miles, surpassing the United States in white population, having a capital city with nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, abounding in mines of the precious metals, abounding in ship-timber and in seaports in both oceans, having, from the very nature of things, the absolute command of the mouth of the Mississippi, the great and only outlet to all the most fertile and flourishing of the United States, and, above all, a country, which every interest and every feeling must necessarily bind in fast and permanent alliance with England.

21. But, while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will clearly perceive, that it was, and is, perfectly natural for the Congress to feel anxiety and alarm at the appearance of these impending consequences of the independence of Spanish America; that sentiments of patriotism and considerations of duty might make them dread, and endeavour to prevent, a Revolution, which, if successful, would check the growth of the resources and power of their own country; which would raise up and establish rivals in liberty as well as in power, on the same continent; which, while it put a stop to the increase of their own marine, would create other American marines, sufficient to cope with theirs in point of force, and naturally in constant rivalry with it; which would make England the absolute arbitress amongst all the transatlantic nations, and which, while it necessarily tended to enrich the manufacturers, mer-

chants and ship-owners of England, as necessarily tended to give to the English Flag an undisputed predominance on the seas for ages beyond the reach of human foresight or calculation: while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will perceive, that, with these prospects and considerations in their minds, it was perfectly natural and patriotic in the Congress to endeavour to prevent the success of the Revolution in the Spanish colonies, your Petitioner does not hesitate to express his firm belief, that your Royal Highness and the People will also perceive, that the inactivity, the torpor, the cold-hearted indifference, shown, on this occasion, by the Ministers of your Royal Highness, are altogether as unnatural and as unpatriotic, and discover a want of even the most ordinary feeling equally for the interests of the country and for the honour of His Majesty's Crown.

22. It being always less painful to impute mischief to folly than to wickedness, gladly would your humble Petitioner ascribe this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, so manifestly injurious to his country and his king, and apparently so unaccountable, wholly to that want of talent, that incapacity for the managing of great affairs, that groveling propensity of mind, for which the Ministers are so strongly characterized and are so notorious; but, the same sense of duty towards your Royal Highness and towards his beloved country, which has urged your Petitioner to submit, with feelings of great diffidence and humility, to your Royal Highness the foregoing representation, also urges him to declare it to be his conviction, though, as an

Englishman, the declaration covers him with shame, that this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, this shameful neglect of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of England, are chiefly, if not solely, to be ascribed to a reluctance to suffer the taking of any part in behalf of the Spanish colonies, lest the principles of Holy Alliances and of pretended Legitimacy should thereby receive their condemnation and their overthrow, and lest, upon the ruins of those detestable principles and upon those of the Bourgeoisfaction, the rights and liberties of the People of England and the just powers and prerogatives of their lawful Sovereign should be built on sure and lasting foundations; for, while your Petitioner is too well aware of the magnanimity which prevails in the breast of your Royal Highness and not less in that of the nation, to suppose either capable of being, upon this occasion, actuated by feelings of revenge for the conduct of the Family of Bourbon, during the North American Revolution, and, while he has too great a dread of the just displeasure of your Royal Highness to suffer him, for one moment, to entertain the thought of daring to suggest to your Royal Highness to act upon the example of that Family; he cannot refrain from humbly expressing his hope, that your Royal Highness, who well recollects that memorable instance of envy, insolence and perfidy, will see, therein, no reason that England, by standing with her arms folded, should now make a manifest sacrifice of her present and permanent interests and of her immortal glory, lest, in the frank and honourable pursuit of these, she should sterilize the Vineyards of France and

dry up the sources of the Treasury of Spain.

23. Therefore, your Petitioner, well assured that your Royal Highness can have no feeling, not in perfect harmony with the interest and honour of the nation, and also well assured of your Royal Highness's disposition to listen with indulgence to the representations and prayers of even the most obscure of His Majesty's faithful People, ventures, upon the grounds of that assurance, to pray, that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to espouse, in the manner which to your Royal wisdom shall seem meet, the cause of the Colonies and Countries which have been the subject of this his most humble Petition.

And your Petitioner,

As in humble duty bound,

Will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Now, Gentlemen, you see how very little is known of this matter by those who imagine, that the *United States* will *make a stand* for South America! But, the thing to look at most attentively, is, the difference which there would have been in our present situation, if the advice of this Petition had been followed. Instead of this, the pretty gentlemen were busy as bees passing a "*foreign enlistment bill*." There was France with our troops and the troops hired by us, *quartered on her*: there was the King of Spain in the midst of the brewings of a revolution: there were all the Holy Allies with their hands full, and still getting little dribblets of money out of us. The South American States might all have been, not only acknowledged, but settled down under stable governments before our troops quitted

France. But, "No," said our pretty and cunning gentlemen, "We will not acknowledge them, lest we sanction the principles of the Jacobins." But, now, when it is *too late*, they would fain acknowledge them; but they *dare not* for fear of these very French, whom they had in military occupation, when they refused to acknowledge the new States. In 1817, just about the time that I was writing my Petition to the Regent, there was little RYDER bringing his Bill into the Lords to punish Englishmen for assisting the South Americans; and, well do I remember, that one of his arguments in support of the bill was, that *just such a bill had been passed by the Congress of the United States!* Good God! How we laughed in America! So, because the United States, whose *interest it was to prevent* the South American States from being independent, because *they* passed such a bill, such a bill must be passed by us, whose interest it was that those States should be independent, and that, too, as soon as possible.

It is true, that the United States have, since 1817, *acknowledged the independence* of some of the new States. But, this has been done merely *on speculation*; merely to obtain present commercial advantages, and to be prepared, lest *we* should acknowledge them. The United States *hate*, because they *dread*, the independence of South America. And deceived indeed are those, who imagine, that the United States would *take part with us* in asserting, in arms, the independence of Spanish America. They would take part with us **IN NOTHING**; mind that: but, must not that man be mad, who imagines, that they would *join us in a war to esta-*

blish, at their own doors, *rivals for them and allies for us?* At this very moment the French possess an assurance on the part of the United States, that the latter *are ready to withdraw their acknowledgment* of the South American States. I would pledge my life on this fact, notwithstanding our metaphor-hatching Secretary of State has just discovered that the United States are to us what a dear, sweet boarding-school daughter, "who has *formed an improper connexion,*" is to a fond, forgiving *mamma*. The French are sure of the United States; and, if the encroachments of the French should, at last, lead to war by them and Spain against us, *their commerce* and that of Spain would be carried on *by the United States*; or, these latter would *join them in the war against us*.

Let us now, Gentlemen, look at the present state of things, and then see what would have been the state of things, if the prayer, the express prayer, of the above petition had been acted on. France has now complete possession of Old Spain and of all her means. You will bear in mind, that, our Secretary (who seems destined to have a great hand in sinking the country) *protested*, in his closing despatch before the French marched into Spain, *against a military occupation of Spain by France*; and also against any *recolonizing scheme as to South America*. He does not appear to have known, at that time, *how far he had to fall*. I had been, in the STATESMAN (in which I then wrote), and in the Register, asserting, day after day and week after week, that it was not the *revolution* in Spain that the French cared about; but, that they wanted to get the *ports and fleets* and re-

sources of Spain into their hands; and, finally, the *mines of Mexico and Peru*. Our man of metaphors, our "heir to the inkstand," as the French call him, thought that he must not close his series of despatches without letting us see, that he had *taken care to guard against* the French doing what I said they intended to do. And so, in his winding-up despatch, he has, as to the first of these subjects, the following words:—"The repeated disavowal, by His Most Christian Majesty's Government, of *all views of ambition and aggrandizement, forbids the suspicion of any design on the part of France, to establish a permanent military occupation of Spain*; or to force His Catholic Majesty into any measures, derogatory to the independence of his Crown, or to his existing relations with other Powers."

The man of metaphor was told, in the debate, that he was here a *dupe* or a *hypocrite*; no, said he, that does not follow; and I was neither; for, my words, being fairly interpreted, mean, *that we will not permit France to establish a permanent military occupation of Spain*. This was the fair interpretation; but, will he now *stand to this?* Oh! yes: for France will make a *treaty with Spain*, and will fix the time, the very day, and the *hour* if you like, for withdrawing her troops. Aye; but will she admit *you* to be a party to the treaty, and will she *give you an adequate guarantee* for its fulfilment? No: not she indeed; and, therefore, her military occupation of Spain is, of course, *to last as long as she pleases*, and that may be for forty years! The *news* relative to her taking possession of Cadiz is by no means

uninteresting. It is impossible for an Englishman to read it without hanging his head from shame. But, we have a great deal worse than this to endure; and the sooner we begin the better.

"Previous to the departure of the King from Cadiz, he had guaranteed to the Cortes that the Isla and Cadiz should be held inviolate from the entry of the French army. On the 2d, however, all the troops in Cadiz were marched into the Isla, and on the evening of the 3d, a battalion of French troops were transported across the Bay, from Puerto Real, and occupied the gates of the town, and the works as far as the Quartadura inclusive. Another detachment advanced to the South extremity of the Isla, and took possession of the bridge of Portasco. At nine o'clock on the ensuing morning, the Spanish troops began their evacuation of the Isla, with the exception of the traitor regiment of St. Martial; the officers and men looked dejected and dispirited; a deep melancholy marked all countenances; many heavy interviews and adieus passed as the troops thus gave place to their enemies. By ten o'clock the Spaniards had evacuated San Fernando, and the French troops began their entry. They consisted entirely of light infantry, and their gay appearance, and excellent order and equipment, formed a strong contrast to the sad looks and worn appointments of the Spaniards; hundreds of whom were without great coats and gaiters, and many bare-footed. As the French entered, the bells of the church, and various convents, saluted them with a violent clangour of discordant chimes, and several priests were seen at the balconies of the houses, gazing on the spectacle with countenances of half-suppressed satisfaction. On the morning of the 3d, a French General came over to Cadiz, to arrange the billets of the troops by which it was to be occupied, and gave orders for 5000 rations and 3 pipes of wine daily. On the 4th the troops were ferried over from Porto Real, and entered the place. They consisted of the Guards, a Swiss battalion, and four regiments of Light Infantry. Their appearance was excellent; they were generally composed of fine young men, and were in the best order. Since the entrance of the French all has been fear and anxiety. A report is prevalent, and it is said on good authority, that there is a secret arrangement by which the French are to occupy Spain for six years, as an in-

demnity for the expense of the war. This report is supported by the fact that on the 5th and 6th of Oct. the French Engineers had begun to make surveys and preparations for repairing and increasing to a considerable extent the fortifications of Cadiz."

It is added, that some Englishman having remarked to some of the French officers, that "the British Government would, undoubtedly, take strong measures, against any permanent occupation of Cadiz," they answered, "You have Gibraltar, why not we have Cadiz." This is, indeed, newspaper news; but, who can believe, that Cadiz will ever be given up by the French without our giving up either Gibraltar, or Guernsey and Jersey, or Malta, or something in that way? This, therefore, is "permanent occupation," just as much as any occupation can be. I am in possession of this house, and my occupation is *not permanent*, because there is a *treaty* (the lease) according to which I am to march out on a certain day; but, I may set this treaty at defiance, and then my occupation *will be permanent*, notwithstanding the bit of parchment. No: I cannot do this, I cannot set the treaty at defiance, and cannot hold on, because there is a *third party*, an *umpire*, who is able to *force me to fulfil the treaty*: there is the Court of King's Bench, with writs and capias and its tipstiffs, sheriffs, constables, marshals, and God knows what besides. But, where will the *third party* be in the present case? Will France let us meddle with the matter? Faith, she snapped Mr. CANNING's nose nearly off, when he offered the *mediation* of his master; and, is it likely, that she will admit us into a treaty relative to the use that she is to make of her success? It is madness to suppose such a

thing; therefore, the occupation is permanent; and it only remains for us to hear the poor, pitiful, miserable excuse that will be offered for not attempting to act upon the protest above quoted from the despatch of 31st March 1823.

As to the States of South America, the same despatch spoke in the same sort of way. It is the curse of the feeble *never to speak out plain*. However, we have a protest here again, if Mr. CANNING were not *dupe* or *hypocrite*. "With respect," says he, "to the Provinces in America, which have thrown off their allegiance to the Crown of Spain, *time and the course of events appear to have substantially decided their separation from the Mother Country*; although the formal recognition of those Provinces, as Independent States, by His Majesty, may be hastened or retarded by various external circumstances, as well as by the more or less satisfactory progress, in each State, towards a regular and settled form of Government. *Spain has long been apprized of His Majesty's opinions upon this subject*. Disclaiming in the most solemn manner any intention of appropriating to himself the smallest portion of the *late Spanish possessions in America*, His Majesty IS SATISFIED THAT NO ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE BY FRANCE, to bring under her dominion any of those possessions, either by conquest, or by cession, from Spain."

If there ever was any thing more silly, more completely idiot-like, than any other thing that ever was heard of before, it is this very paragraph, taken in conjunction with what has since been done by our Government. If the colonies

were separated from Spain; why not acknowledge their independence? But, Good God! the "*external circumstances!*" However, here are the possessions called "*late Spanish*;" and here is a protest against France making any attempt to conquer to obtain by cession any of those possessions. This is the touchstone. Here is the protest: and will the man of the two red lions stand to it? Oh, no: not he: and yet, what shuffle will he have; what metaphor; what miserable device? France will say, perhaps, that she does not recolonise the South American Provinces for herself; but for Spain. And, when we ask her to give them up to Spain, she will, doubtless, say, "*oui, mon cher*" (for she will be very kind), "when you, who took the Cape for the Stadtholder and Malta for the Knights, and the Toulon Fleet for the King of France, and the Dutch Fleet for the Stadtholder, shall give them up to the respective parties." It is nonsense, Gentlemen, to talk of such stuff. To affect to believe, that the French will not have permanent military occupation of Spain, and that she will not try, at least, to recolonise South America for her own aggrandizement; to affect to believe these things is merely a trick resorted to by conscious feebleness, in order to disguise its shame.

Such is our state with regard to France. How different would it have been if my prayer of 1817 had been attended to! How different! There would now have been several powerful States, our allies, on the other side of the Atlantic. The United States would have had more than one bridle in their mouth. The French never would have marched into Spain;

for, the *prize*, the mines, would have been taken away for ever. Besides, our own internal situation would have been different. It would have been impossible to side, openly and effectually, with the revolted States, *without making a reform in England*. That would have enabled the Government to reduce the interest of the Debt; and that would have enabled it to hold such a language as would have prevented the Holy Allies from ever dreaming about holding a Congress at Verona.

Ah! to this, then, it comes back, at last! It is the *Debt*: that is the bar to all exertion: and that cannot be touched *without a Reform*. "Perish all, rather!" say the Borough-villains. No: you corrupt wretches, *all* will not perish. A good deal will perish: but, *all* will not; and, in the mean while, stupid and base is the man, who does not rejoice at *whatever annoys* you. I am satisfied, that, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, France will go on till she has made us a *very little nation*, whatever lies we may publish about the *population* of "this *mighty Empire*." The "*Kingdom*" of France will *empire* us in a very few years. The man, who does not see that this will be the case, must be a downright fool. And, again and again I say, there is no way of preventing this but the making of a *Radical Reform*; and, rather than see that take place, the corrupt knaves of Boroughmongers would *see the country actually sold to the French*. There are all the means; this country possesses all the means of recovering the ground she has lost, of inflicting punishment on the Government of France, of keeping the United States in check, of maintaining our naval

dominion; but, *without Reform*, we possess the means of doing none of these, nor of doing any one thing to check the progress of that power, which appears now to have set itself seriously to work to humble us. Spain is *settled*; and we have now to watch the workings as to those countries, which, eight months ago, our Government called, the "*late possessions of Spain*." Pray, Gentlemen, observe *the conduct of the United States*. You will see how little our Government knows of their character and views. Watch the *language* of our Ministers. See how *tame* it will be. See how ingenious they will be in discovering apologies for the encroachments of the French and for their own long-suffering.

But, after all, the security of the Ministers lies in the insincerity, folly, or cowardice, of their opponents. Those opponents have no ground of *blame*, unless they *call for war*; they cannot call for war, unless they call also for a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*; they cannot call for this, unless they call for *reform*. This is against their very nature, or, at least, against that of forty-nine fiftieths of them; and, this being the case, they have *no ground for blaming the Ministers*. Even if these latter were now, or when Parliament meet, to endeavour to shuffle and jostle and wriggle and sneak out of the *protest*, in the despatch of the 31st of March, and were to say, that it was written under the anguish of an attack of the gout, and did not mean, that the French ought not to occupy Spain permanently, and that they ought not to take part of South America: even if the Ministers were to say this, and their opponents were to express indignation at it; what,

even in that case, would the Ministers have to say more than this : "Well, then, do you wish us to go to war?" The lips of their opponents are glued up in a moment. "We have protested," say the Ministers, "and Monsieur Chateaubriand has laughed at our protest. To declare war is all that we can now do; and do you wish us to declare war? Speak out like men; or ever after hold your tongue." This would silence the "*gentlemen opposite*" at once. They could say nothing at which we should not laugh even more heartily than Monsieur Chateaubriand laughed at the "*protest*."

Well, say you, but, after all, is this *real*? Or, is it a dream? Is it, can it, be true, that the French, for his share in conquering whom, we paid, in one way and another, about seven hundred thousand pounds to one single man: can it be true, that these French, whose pictures and statues were seized no longer ago than in 1815: can it be, that these same French, who paid us *tribute* only about four years ago: can it be, that they have now actually overrun and taken real possession of a country, which we called the *great out-work of England*, and to get them out of which cost us a hundred and fifty millions of guineas: can all this be true? Yes; very true; and this is only a little beginning of a long series of humiliations that we have to endure. Again I say, that we *possess all the means* of saving ourselves from this disgrace; but again I say also, that those means are of no avail without a real *Reform of the Parliament*.

I have now performed my task: I have laid this subject fairly before you; and I am satisfied, that

it will not now be easy for the lying press of London and the stupid press of Norwich to deceive you as to any of the important matters of which I have treated. I cannot conclude, however, without a few words on the *impossibility of going to war without a blowing up of the Debt*. War would demand *thirty or forty millions of taxes* to be ADDED to the present. Can you pay more taxes than you now pay? It is to insult you to ask the question at a moment when pecuniary ruin sweeps over the country like a whirlwind. To go to war, and to *pay in gold* every one knows to be impossible. What, then, shall the *Bank Restriction* come back, and the bushel of wheat be 20s. again. Do you not see, that, if the Bank were (no matter from what cause) to stop again, it never could resume? Do you not see, that there must be *two prices*, or *Robespierre's bloody law*? So fully convinced are people of this, that the very rumour of war sinks the funds instantly; but, what would become of those funds, if *real war* were to exist? If any one suppose, that a paper-system could be adopted again, *because it was before*, let him remember how much better the secret is understood now than it was before. Let him remember, too, that, if we were to get out ships of war, they would not be permitted to *rifle* all nations, as they did before. Let him remember, further, that the nations now know well how to *tackle those who fight with paper-money*. In short, my conviction is, that the very first month of war, against either France or America, would see the whole mass of paper *puffed out*! Another war with a Bank Restriction would soon run the debt up to *two or three thou-*

sand millions. Would you have another cash-payments at the peace? Monstrous idea! And yet, if there were no redemption for the paper, *what would it be worth?* Besides these things, there are the miseries and discontents of the people, especially in Ireland. If it demand nearly a hundred thousand men to protect the Government in time of peace, what will it demand in war? The commerce of France and Spain must be suffered to go unmolested under the American flag, or we must add the United States to our foes; and, in that case, how long will it be before an army land in Ireland from America? Or, do we repose in confidence, that PARSON MORRITT and his soldiers would beat the Yankees off?

Such are only a part of the perils that await this country, *unless there be a reform of the parliament.* That reform would suddenly change the face of every thing. There are those who have the power to make such reform. If they do it, let us applaud them: if they do it not, let us applaud those who annoy them.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Friend and
Most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

JOURNAL OF A RIDE IN FRANCE.

THE last letter received from Mr. JAMES COBBETT is dated 28 October, and left him at BRIARE, on the Loire. He was just about to proceed on towards the South, after having looked over the farms, which, the readers of the Register will recollect, were, some little time back, advertised by Mr. HOGGART. The best thing is, seeing with your own eyes; and, the next best, seeing with the eyes of

some one who you know will not deceive you.—It was intended to insert in the Register *all the Letters* that should come from Mr. JAMES COBBETT; but, it has been found impossible to do it, without *excluding all other matter*, and, not even then, without *enlarging the Register*.—Some other mode must, therefore, be fallen upon; for, though the Editor of the Register is likely enough to see, in this case, with very partial eyes, he is sure, that he does not deceive himself, when he says, that the JOURNAL, though coming from so young a person, will be found worthy of general attention.—The writer of the Journal says, that *two Norfolk Farmers* had taken two of the farms, advertised by Mr. HOGGART. Here are *two families*, at any rate, got away from the Parsons and the Jews and Jobbers and the swarms of the Dead Weight; two families escaped from ruin.—Corruption is setting it about, that “Cobbett is going to France.” Oh, no! He will never quit the THING, while there is a possibility of giving it good hearty blows; nor will *any one belonging to him*. Let the Jolterheads, the beggared Jolterheads; let them decamp from a country that they have done all they could to destroy. Let those who are unable to do the THING harm, get out of its way; but, let all who are able to work the THING, remain and work it.—The great object of the Ride in France is to ascertain the *real state* of the people, and especially of the farmers and labouring classes, of that country, as to their *dress, food, lodging, and so forth*. To ascertain what prices really are, and *wages, and rents*. In short, to enable the people of England to judge correctly of the state of France, as to matters closely connected with the well-being of the people.—At BRIARE good wheat was 4s. 6d. the English bushel. This is dear for France; but the bread was much cheaper, in proportion, compared with ours.—However, any attempt to abridge the Journal would be worse than doing nothing. At present, it is intended

to publish it in *Numbers, Weekly*, at 6d. each Number. The author will reside some time in a village, living with the people, making one of some country family. This will enable him to take us into the houses and show us how they live.—Whether the Journal will be published in *Numbers*, or not, will, in all likelihood, be notified in the next Register.

FIRE-SHOVELS AND RAG-MEN.

THE last GAZETTE publishes two bankrupts, as follows: "The REVEREND Charles Caleb COLTON, late of Prince-Street, WINE-MERCHANT." Bravo! This is not being like the "*Drones*" of *Catholic Priests*. This "*reformed*" priest appears to have been industrious enough.—Will any one be so good as to tell me, what *living* this COLTON has? In the Clerical Guide, I find but one COLTON, and to him I find no *christian name*; but merely "REV. — COLTON." Against his name I find TIVERTON: and, against one of the parishes of TIVERTON, I find COLTON, *incumbent*, and the patron, *King's College, Cambridge*. Now, is this the same COLTON? Will somebody (with a name, and that I know) at TIVERTON, tell me, whether the incumbent of *Prior's Quarter* be CHARLES CALEB COLTON, or not? If this be not the same man, it ought to be known: and, I think, the name of the man's *benefice* ought to have been stated in the Gazette.—This is the sort of *Church*! This is the real part and parcel of "the law of the land." This is the real "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." Who would not be burnt at Smithfield for the sake of this?—Now comes a member of another branch of the envied and admired THING. "EDMUND JOHN GLYNN, late of Glynn and of Launceston and Bodmin, Cornwall, *Banker*." Somebody must have held *his paper*; and, who will be so base as to pity such holders, when, instead of his paper, they might have had *gold* in their pockets? How many poor, unin-

formed men may have been ruined, on this occasion, no one can tell. And, must not those be monsters then, who can regret, that a swindling, paper, mortgaging, pawning system has been overset in Spain? Spain will not, at any rate, have Parson Wine-merchant and Paper-money men. I should like to know, whether COLTON wore a great, white, *bush wig*! Where did he preach: for God's sake, where did he *preach*?

GAMING.

The whole country has been filled with horror by the murderers of Gill's-hill Cottage. But, the remark to make is, that the whole of the series of horrid crimes have proceeded, and naturally and regularly proceeded, *from the gaming table*. We are all apt to think well, and rather too well, of our own doings; but, I think that no one who has read it will deny, that, if all the parents in England were to read and pay attention to my Sermon, called, "THE GAMESTER," there would be a speedy end to the horrid crimes engendered at the gaming table. It is impossible to read the amount of the deeds of this band of desperate men, without being struck with the application of *several passages in the Sermon*. The murdered fellow had a *dice-box* and a *betting-book* as part of his travelling necessities! He was going on a visit to a stranger; to a house in which he never had been; and yet, he could provide himself with these things. In short, it was a *band of gamblers*, falling on upon each other; and, horrid as the acts were, they were nothing more than might have been expected. The gaming-table is the great school of robbery and murder.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 25th October.

	Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	48	9
Rye	28	3

Barley	25	11
Oats	20	5
Beans	33	10
Peas	32	2

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 25th October.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat...	9,584	for 25,487	14	8	Average, 53	2
Barley...	3,610	5,243	8	1	29	0
Oats...	10,107	12,312	19	4	24	4
Rye.....	14	22	6	0	31	10
Beans...	1,412	2,361	10	0	33	5
Peas....	1,231	2,348	3	6	36	7

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Oct. 27 to Nov. 1, inclusive.

Wheat..	7,423	Pease....	1,532
Barley...	3,413	Tares.....	144
Malt	2,733	Linseed....	—
Oats....	14,775	Rape	381
Rye	14	Brank.....	9
Beans...	1,893	Mustard...	35

Various Seeds 156, and Flax 13 qrs.
—Flour 9,131 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats 3,385 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed 2,935 qrs.

Friday, Oct. 31.—The arrivals of Grain of this week are only moderate, but our buyers are disposed to wait for further supplies; there is therefore not much business doing to-day, but prime parcels of Wheat fully support the prices last quoted. Barley for our Maltsters' use is again rather dearer. Beans and Peas remain unaltered. What few good Oats are here for sale, obtain full as much money as on Monday last. In Flour there is no variation.

Monday, Nov. 3.—There was a great increase in the quantities of Corn by the arrival of many vessels towards the close of last week; and the supply of Flour was likewise considerable. This morning the fresh arrivals at market consist chiefly of a tolerably fair show of samples of Wheat and Barley, from Essex and Kent, and a great many vessels from the northern parts with Oats. There has been a good sale for Wheat of prime quality to-day, on full as good terms as last Monday, but other sorts go off rather heavily.

Barley, both for malting and grinding, has again sold with freedom, and fully supports the terms of this day se'nnight. Old Beans that are dry, obtain rather more money, but soft samples go off heavily. Boiling Peas continue without variation. Grey Peas of good colour, obtain a trifling advance, but other sorts are unaltered. Old Oats find sale on much the same terms as last quoted, but New Oats have declined 1s. per quarter, at which there have been many sales made. Flour is unaltered.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	10s.
Aylesbury.. ditto	8l.	0s.	15l.	0s.
Newbury	43	0	—	66 0
Reading	40	0	—	58 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	48	0	—	56 0
Devizes	36	0	—	63 0
Warminster	40	0	—	64 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	12l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	0	—	8 6
Lewes	48	0	—	58 0
Guildford, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	5s.
Winchester, ditto	43	0	—	66 0
Basingstoke.....	49	0	—	55 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Yarmouth.....	44	0	—	49 0
Hungerford.....	44	0	—	62 0
Lynn	36	0	—	52 0
Horncastle	36	0	—	45 0
Stamford	43	0	—	0 0
Northampton.....	42	0	—	46 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	19	9	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel....	0	0	—	0 0
Nottingham	46	6	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	57 0
Newcastle	38	0	—	57 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	20	0	—	33 0
Haddington, ditto*....	23	6	—	32 6

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Oct. 28.—Since Tuesday last, although the arrivals of Grain were very inconsiderable, there has been but little business done in the trade by the Millers and Dealers here, much less by those from different parts of this

county (who most generally draw their supplies hence), in consequence of the markets of the interior having furnished them on more favourable terms. The market of this day, although tolerably well attended, was not productive of much business, in the expectation of early arrivals of New Grain from Ireland, and the wind having become westerly, it is probable those expectations will be soon realized. From these united circumstances, the alteration in value of any article of the trade is so very immaterial, as to leave the quotations of last week nominally the same as then advised.

Norwich, Nov. 1.—Things were not worse to-day; but rather manifested symptoms of improvement; Wheats found ready sale at 50s. to 54s.; though these include only prime samples, a vast deal being bought at prices considerably lower, say 40s. to 46s.; Barley sold freely at 28s. to 30s.; and Grey Peas, 26s. to 29s. and 30s. per quarter. Wheats still come to hand very cold and damp, and the late wet weather has not improved them.

Bristol, Nov. 1.—The supply of Grain, &c. at this place is very moderate, but notwithstanding, the business done is trifling. The following are about the present prices. —Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 9d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 22s. to 46s. per bag.

Ipswich, Nov. 1.—Our market to-day was very largely supplied with Barley and Wheat. Prices remain much as last week, as follow:—Old Wheat, 50s. to 60s.; New ditto, 40s. to 52s.; Barley, 25s. to 31s.; Beans, old, 34s.; Peas, 29s. to 34s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Nov. 1.—Our market for Wheats of best quality may be noted brisk, at an advance of 1s. per quarter; inferior qualities without any alteration. Oats and Beans without any amendment.

Boston, Oct. 30.—We had a plentiful supply of Grain at this day's market, which continues the same as last week's prices, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 42s. to 47s.; Oats, 18s. to 22s.; Beans, 32s.; and Barley, 30s. per qr. Finest samples of Barley for malting, 32s.

Wakefield, Oct. 31.—We have a good supply of Grain up the river, and a good appearance of buyers. More money was demanded for fine Wheats in the morning, but the market closed dull, and inferior samples may be noted 1s. per qr. lower. In Meal and Oats and Shelling, no alteration. Beans fully support last week's prices. Malting Barley 1s. per quarter higher. No alteration in Malt, Flour, Peas, or Rapeseed.

City, 5 November 1823.

BACON.

Advices from all parts of Ireland represent the supply of Hogs as very scanty; and prices have accordingly advanced both here and there. A very trifling inducement is sufficient to set the *Jobbers* in motion: it is not surprising, therefore, that they are "*all alive*." In the mean time, some of the consequences which we predicted from last summer's speculation, have begun to be felt: a great many *retailers* have stopped payment. It is curious enough, that four or five years ago, an opinion very generally prevailed, that the best remedy for the evils of the trade, was, to limit the credit to *one month* instead of *two*: but up to this day, the shopkeepers have never been able to pay punctually in *two months*; and it is the opinion of persons pretty competent to judge, that an attempt to enforce payment at the end of two months, would cause more than half the retailers to stop payment. — On Board, 38s. to 40s.—Landed: New, 46s. to 48s.; Old, 36s. to 42s.

BUTTER.

Extraordinary efforts have been made to sustain the Butter market; we say to *sustain* it, for all thoughts of causing an *advance* seem to be given up for the present. Many,

who are not in the secret, wonder what can induce the jobbers to go on bringing goods from Ireland, with almost a certainty of loss: the reason is, that they can obtain credit in Ireland, when they cannot get it here: and the *Bills of Lading* are very convenient to put into the hands of those who have always "MONEY READY TO BE ADVANCED UPON GOODS INTENDED FOR IMMEDIATE SALE."--On board: Carlow, 78s. to 80s.—Belfast, 78s.—Dublin, 74s. to 75s.—Waterford, 73s. to 74s.—Cork, 72s. to 73s.—Limerick, 71s. — Newry, 74s.—Dundalk, 72s.—Landed: Carlow, 78s. to 82s.—Belfast, 78s. to 79s.—Dublin, 75s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Cork, 74s.—Limerick, 74s.—Dutch, 86s. to 88s.—Holstein, 76s. to 80s.—Embsen, 66s. to 68s.—A comparison of prices will show that there must be a considerable loss upon importation: and yet they go on!

CHEESE.

The Cheese trade continues dull; and prices as last quoted.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 3.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	10	to	3 8
Mutton	3	0	—	3 10
Veal	3	8	—	5 0
Pork	4	0	—	4 8
Beasts ... 3,064	Sheep ... 20,470			
Calves 180	Pigs 240			

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton	2	0	—	3 0
Veal	2	8	—	4 4
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	3 0
Mutton	2	8	—	3 2
Veal	3	4	—	5 0
Pork	2	8	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2 5	to	£ 3 15
Middlings	1 15	—	2 0
Chats	1 15	—	0 0
Common Red ..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions .. 0s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2 5	to	£ 3 15
Middlings	1 10	—	2 0
Chats	1 10	—	0 0
Common Red ..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions .. 0s. 0d.	—	0s. 0d.	per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay ..	80s. to 105s.
Straw ...	30s. to 45s.
Clover	100s. to 120s.
St. James's.—Hay ...	70s. to 118s.
Straw ...	33s. to 45s.
Clover ...	90s. to 120s.
Whitechapel.—Hay ...	80s. to 110s.
Straw ...	40s. to 46s.
Clover ...	90s. to 135s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Nov. 3.—More inquiry for 1819 and 1821 Hops; little or no variation in other sorts. Present Prices, 1823, Kent Pockets, 9l. to 15l.; Sussex ditto, 8l. 8s. to 11l. 4s.

Maidstone, Oct. 30.—The Hop Trade, if it may be called so, is totally at a stand here; we have scarcely heard of a sale this week, therefore quoting prices is out of question.

Worcester, Oct. 25.—99 pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our Market, and one tump of New, weighing only 13 lbs., the only Hops which have yet been sold here, the produce of this plantation.—1819's and 1821's sell well, if good: the sale of 1822's is very flat.—Prices: 1822's, 8l. 8s. to 10l. 10s.; 1821's, 4l. 6s. to 5l.